2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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782 trance of the family shrine, in front of the sleeping-quarters, in front of the little altar in the middle of the court, at the well if

● [415]

Kitchen Utensils

there is one, and finally at the gate. The woman who distrib-
[231] uted the offerings was followed by the eternally hungry dogs, who unceremoniously ate the grains of rice as soon as the offer-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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ing was placed on the ground. Nobody cared, however, since they were intended for evil spirits, which might, perhaps, be embodied in the dogs.

There were no set meal hours and they ate whenever they felt hungry. A little before noon the men returned from work after

Manner of Drinking
(design scratched on a bamboo drinking-bottle)

taking a bath in the spring or in a river and sat casually somewhere near the kitchen, often turning their backs silently on each other because a person who is eating should not be spoken to. Each was given his portion of rice with its complementary sauce in a square of banana leaf which he held in the hollow of the left hand while the right acted as spoon and fork. The use of dishes and cutlery is to the Balinese an unclean and repulsive foreign habit. Balinese who use plates invariably place a square

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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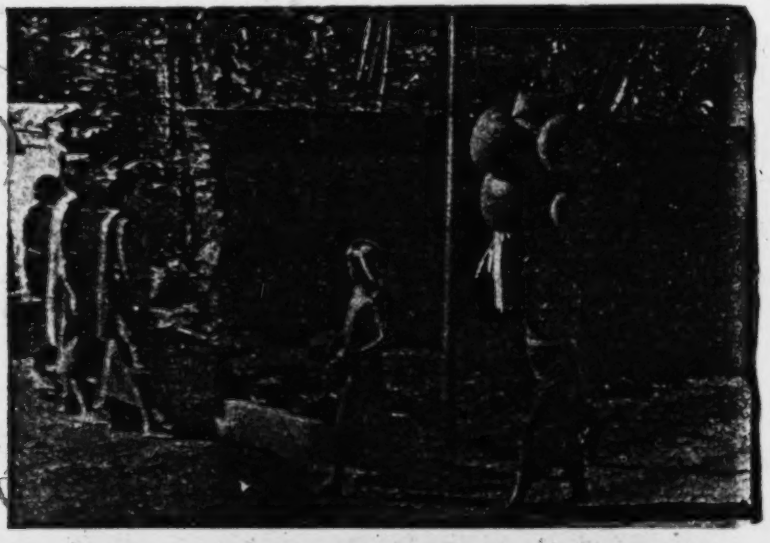

272
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291

Going to market

Sweet drinks of crushed leaves are popular in the markets

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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142
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[415]

The old and the young sell their wares side by side
At noon the market is at its height

[P. 406 (~~XXVII~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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541
231

285
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231
541

Ready for the fight; the loser

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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564
788
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A pedanda bodda, high priest of a Buddhist sect, who prays with a badjra, a symbolic thunderbolt of bronze, instead of flowers. Below him in the picture, as he is in caste, the lowly pemangku is nevertheless of greater importance in the temple and is essential to the ritual, which the high priests are not

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

Groups of women

*796 794 [415] began to gather under the roofs of the other pavilions, to fashion from the sheaves of young palm leaves the many and varied containers that would be needed for the offerings. Hundreds of these are required, big ones, small ones, round, square, and triangular ones, each to be cut out, twisted into shape, and pinned together with bamboo slivers. The more dexterous of the women assumed the task of fashioning the decorative top-pieces (*sampian*) with many curls and whorls and flutings, and graceful fringes hanging all around, which would adorn the offerings.

[252] When the rice-flour was ready, colored in vivid red and green, the specialists in *peregèmbal* cakes set to work molding it into distinctive shapes: the *paksi*, a bird with knobby buttons down the front of his jacket, the *doekoeh ngaba siboeh*, a "hermit holding a coconut full of water," the magical *waringin* tree. Other women were frying flat round cakes, and setting them to sun in the middle of the court. A special set of offerings was prepared at once to be presented in each of the ten shrines in the temple court and in the kitchen, "because the offerings were being made in the temple."

[782] This giving of offerings for making offerings may be interpreted either as a polite gesture towards the gods, a gracious way of letting them know that the temple, their house, was being used for this purpose — or as a precautionary measure, to appease their appetites so that nothing should go amiss while the big offerings were being prepared. In each shrine was set an *adjoeman* (food) and a *tjanang*[1] (betel-chewing ingredients).

Meanwhile, the men who had come to work instead of their wives sat [322] together splitting up bamboo to be used for offering frames, for skewers, needles for the pinning of the delicate palm-leaf fancy-work, or supports for the construction of special altars and stands on which the offerings would be set out.

Towards noon the hundred or so people departed, leaving the *sinoman* in charge. Again about three the *koel-koel* beat, recalling them to the temple. And the work went on, till the evening. That night a detachment of ten men was detailed to sleep in the temple, to guard it (*mekemit*).

[1] The *tjanang* is the slightest and the most frequently used offering, serving a [782] multitude of purposes. It is a little tray made of palm-leaf, containing a flower, ingredients for betel-chewing in minuscule quantity, and a twist of palm-leaf [276] called an "oil receptacle" (*wadah lengis*), a mere token of perfumed oil. Besides these it may contain tiny amounts or tokens of perfumed ointment and sandal- [302] wood water. Three specific types of *tjanang* may be called for:

1. *Tjanang genten*, contains *porosan* (roll of betel), *boenga* (flower), *wadah lengis* (oil receptacle).
2. *Tjanang lenga wangi*, or *tjanang boerat wangi*, contains *porosan*, *boenga*, *wadah lengis*, as above, *boreh mijik* (perfumed ointment), *lengis kodjo* (other perfumed oil), *jèh tjenana* (sandalwood water).
3. *Tjanang gantal*, contains *lekesan* (roll of areca nut, betel-leaf, lime, and tobacco), *bocah 5* (areca nuts, 5), *wadah lengis*.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

him were arranged his holy instruments — the figure of a man seated on a lion in ancient Chinese pottery, containing holy water, a bronze lamp containing glowing coals of sandalwood, a bronze bell, a bronze "astrological beaker" with the signs of gods and zodiac in raised relief, and bearing the date 1248 (Çaka = 1326 A.D.). This beaker was filled with holy water and the chopped petals of flowers. During the ceremony the *sĕngguhu* priest several times after ringing his bell immersed it in this beaker of holy water.

The two most honored ancient men, the two Kĕbayans of the village, came and sat behind the priest (see Fig. 6). The Balian also sat near and assisted in the ritual. The Sĕngguhu began with prayers and offerings *bĕdu'ur*, "above", made facing the *sanggar tawang*, to the gods. He then returned to his place among the offerings arranged in the five directions. These included the waterbuffalo, calf, pig, goat, goose, chickens, duck and dog, and the thousand minute offerings of rice and palm which must be provided according to rule and no one of which may be omitted. The dedication seemed to follow the order of Bali-Hindu ceremonies, with *mantra's* (prayers in the old language) repeated by the priest, the ritual of fire and holy water, the ringing of the bell and the sprinkling of the offerings using two broom-like bunches of young coconut leaves, called the *lis* and the *tĕgtĕg*, or *tugtug*. To the *lis*, which they said was male, was attached a small woven "basket" of leaf called *kĕtipat pusuh*, and to the *tĕgtĕg*, female, one called *kĕtipat tulud*.

Towards the end of the ceremony the *sĕngguhu* took out from a basket the great conch shell which is traditional in the ritual of his priesthood. While he rang his bell and repeated prayers the Balian blew great blasts upon the conch, calling the *Kala's* and the *Buta's* from afar to come and receive the meat and rice and palm-wine spread there for them.

The final rite was again the breaking apart of the two cones of rice tied together with a bit of thread, just as was done in the *kubu*. The priest said the offering was called *pĕras*. But the meaning of the rite he could not explain.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

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Photo Walter Spies.

5. *At the small kubu. The balian dedicates the offerings „karangan manchălimă".*

[415]

Photo Walter Spies.

6. *Offerings to the bad spirits on the site of the house. The sĕngguhu in the foreground: behind him the balian and two kĕbayan's.*

[p. 498(A)]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845
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780-

Photo Walter Spies.

7. *The sèngguhu rings the bell, while the balian blows the conch.*

[498]
[498]

Photo Walter Spies.

8. *Calling the bad spirits to the feast.*

[p. 498(B)]

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

at the crossroads, the graveyard; and only occasionally a pilgrimage to one of the temples of mountain-gods, sea-, lake-, and sacred spring-gods; proper and suitable celebration, with offerings and performances according to his means, of births, birthdays, tooth-filings, weddings, deaths, cremations, etc., in the family. As a rule it is only when some difficulty arises in the carrying out of the ordinary prescribed rites that the djabă turns to the Hindu high-priest, the Pedanda, for advice, and still more rarely, for his offices.

It has occurred to me that a study of one such ordinary Balinese—one of the 900,000 djabă—in his family relations, might be of value, not to lay down any rules, but simply as an illustration of certain common phenomena in the mores.

I have chosen, therefore, an ordinary family, in an ordinary village, lying halfway between the modern town, where the old customs are perforce breaking down, and the region of the old-style Bali-Agă villages, which in their isolation have preserved an order which is today more of a curiosity in Bali, not characteristic of the country as a whole. And so, although it must not be concluded that what has happened in this family is what necessarily would happen in any Balinese family, still the procedures may be taken as fairly typical—if one remembers that variations are great from village to village, and that the customs of the high-caste Balinese, as well as those of the Bali-Agă villages are not represented in the general picture.

A BALINESE FAMILY

Rendah is the head of his household, and therefore a pengajă, member of the village council. He owns his own pekarangan, a walled courtyard within the village limits, enclosing the shrines of his household gods, the living quarters of his immediate family, and the place of the pigs and fowls. He owns also a sufficient portion of the irrigated rice-fields surrounding the village for the maintenance of his family. The fields are tilled by himself, his brothers, and their sons when they are old enough. All the old people and the dependent women and children get enough to eat. If the crop is good, and there is rice left over, it may be sold in the market. The women cook and weave cloth (kamben) for the family, and carry up fresh water from the spring, night and morning. The small girls of five or six begin to help their mothers and aunts at this task, balancing a coconut-shell full of water on their erect heads. The little boys of the same age take charge of the ducks and the water-buffalo, driving them out into the inundated rice-fields at sunrise, driving them back to their shelters near the house-court, at dusk.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

19 *j(ar)iring* stave.
20 *bung-bungan* bamboo tube for separating the threads on the loom. 783*
21 *pandalan* bobbin. 778
22 *bĕlida* strip of wood used for tightening the weave. 412
23 *por* weaver's yoke. 286
24 *sĕrat* weaving reed.
25 *sĕlĕran* slats for arranging the pattern to be woven.
26 *apit* roller, which is attached to the yoke and round which the finished cloth is wound.
27 *tunak* spindle holder.

With the copies of these items made by the village carpenter in (Pa)-Nĕstanan, near Ubud, were also two additional objects – certainly not improvised by the village carpenter 783* 778 412

28 *kulkul* wooden slit gong. [534]
29 *ganchan* a peg of *pinang* wood with a notch on which the thread from the spinning wheel is wound. [286]

(A further item cited by my informant but not made by the carpenter is

30 *dampar* three legged stool of the type used by the market women.)
31 *klatkah sudamala luh*, and
32 *klatkah sudamala muani* } replicas made from bamboo strips, of the platforms on which purificatory offerings are placed [18].

The objects listed above, all replicas of agricultural implements and household utensils, are made from wood or bamboo. The following eight, replicas of household utensils, are of terracotta. 783* 778

33 *choblong* and *chĕblĕng* bowls, with or without base. [415]
34 *payuk* cooking pot, 4 in number.

On festive occasions the *payuk* are embellished with the *sikĕpan* or *sanjata*, the weapons or emblems of the gods. I have seen an ordinary cooking pot amongst the ritual objects at a marriage ceremony and also at a *ma-gĕdong-gĕdong* celebration (held shortly before the birth of a child).[19] This must be a survival of an ancient custom. At this particular marriage ceremony a full-sized four-pronged hoe, decorated with *sapsap* (offerings cut out of palm leaf), was placed beside the cooking pot.

35 *kĕkĕb* pot lid, undecorated, leaning against the *payuk*; (an elaborately decorated version of the *kĕkĕb* is used with No 43).
36 *pulu* container for hulled rice, with three holes.
37 *kakurungan* bird cage, with approximately 30 interstices; also a component of the lis.

[18] Illustration in Swellengrebel, op. cit., pl. VI.
[19] The *Māṇuṣa Yadña* (Note 15) does not give any details regarding these objects.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Ball OF7

	lis components	*ɔtɔh-ɔtɔh pəduduwun*
tangkar igu	1 and 2	50 and 51
ulit listing	15	58
anchak	21	64
bungin or *bugar*	22	63
pulang lĕpas	28	55
pulang gugulung	listed by	62
or gugulungan	Swellengrebel	
bale gading	44	66

783*
798

67 *rarakitan* |*r*|*akit lalima* five stalks in an flat bowl attached at the base and diverging upwards.

68 *rarakitan* |*r*|*akit tilu* three stalks arranged as in 67.

69 *rarakitan* |*r*|*akit patpat* four stalks arranged as in 67.

The words rakat, lakat, lakĕt, lĕkĕt, lĕkat, dĕkăt, all express the sense of close together, attached.

70 *ubi* edible root; always associated with *kiladi* (No 43).

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The final and most important items amongst the *ɔtɔh-ɔtɔh pəduduwun* are a series of holy water pots with spouts, the position in which each is placed being denoted by the number of spouts.

71 *kumba charatan mangonga ubsik* pot with one spout (shown between No 36 and No 37), in the North-West.

[92]

The term *kumba charatan* means pot with spout or spouts; the term *mangonga* (having a nipple or breast) with a numeral is merely a mnemonic device for the guidance of the offering makers and the women assisting at the ceremony.

72 *k. c. m. dudua* pot with two spouts, in the South-east.

73 *k. c. m. tilu* pot with three spouts, in the South-west.

74 *k. c. m. sudan* pot with eleven spouts. Middle-high (between the centre of the eight directions and the zenith, the zenith and nadir forming, together with the eight directions and the centre, a three-dimensional totality of 11).

75 *k. c. m. siyu* pot with nine spouts, in the South.

76 *k. c. m. ukutus* pot with eight spouts, in the Centre.

77 *k. c. m. patpat* pot with four spouts, in the North.

78 *k. c. m. lima* pot with five spouts, in the East.

79 *k. c. m. pitu* pot with seven spouts, in the West.

[80 *k. c. m. nemnim* pot with six spouts, in the North-east.]

While the other objects amongst the *ɔtɔh-ɔtɔh pəduduwun* may be placed in any position on the platform from which the *pəlanda* officiates, these holy water pots must be placed in the indicated positions. On completing the ritual the *pəlanda* pours the concocrated water from these various pots into a single larger vessel.

The pots with one, two, three and eleven spouts are required only with

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*783 778 415 elaborate offerings [27]. I have never seen these in use, nor have I seen an example of the pot with six spouts, which should, according to the system occur.

Although other objects may be lacking amongst the *ĕtĕh-ĕtĕh padudusan*, these pots are essential for the preparation of holy water by the *padanda*. If the earthenware pots are not available young coconuts, with pieces of bamboo for spouts, are used instead.

[137] *783 778 In each of the *kumba charatan* there is a *plawa*, a small, stiff brush made from ten different sorts of leaves, *bunut bulu*, *anchak*, *bingin*, *Kumara Jaya*, *Kumara Ratih*, *slisih*, *mihik*, *myana*, *chamara*, *blangsah bwah*, *ambĕngan*. The leaves are bound together with a red-black white thread, *bĕnang tri-datu*, the colours denoting respectively Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara.

The number of spouts of the various *kumba charatan* is not fixed arbitrarily, for these numbers also occur repeatedly in Balinese texts [28]. In the Buda Kachapi [29], a 'medico-philosophic' treatise, this series denotes the number of tiers of each of the *mérus* of the respective cardinal points. These same numbers are again found in the Chapa Kala [30], a *ruwat takon* [773] or purificatory myth, which tells of Kala, the malevolent aspect of Siwa. A *wayang* performance of the Chapa Kala is given when a village has to be [845] purified after the birth of twins of different sexes to parents not belonging to the *brahman*, *ksatriya* or *wésya* castes [31] and at the birthday celebrations of children for whom a purificatory ritual is considered necessary. I hope at a later date to discuss this point in connection with another subject.

*783 773 776 The myth relates that Kala was born from a crystal guarded by all the gods of the *nawa sanga*. Batara Guru assigned to his son Kala the crossing of the great roads as dwelling place, and it was so that, when the sun shone at the highest point in the sky, Kala might devour all who came that way. Kala descended to the crossroads when the sun was at its zenith, there devouring many mortals, 5,500 in the East, 9,900 in the South, 4,400 in the North and 7,700 in the West. Thus he did until the sun sunk from the sky. In the Centre Kala fed himself with 8,800 mortals. Then with the going of the sun came respite in the orgy of agony and death. Thus did Kala wreak great havoc, devouring mankind by the light of day.

In fear the mortals flocked together in great throngs. Countless were those who were done to death. As hunted creatures of the forest they fled seeking refuge in deep valleys and desolate places, but flight did not save them from the hungry jaws of Kala. Lamenting they cried out to the Highest God.

[27] *Puja Padudusan Agung*, K. 1457.

[28] Swellengrebel, op. cit., p. 22, Jane Belo, *Bali: Temple Festival*, Monograph of the American Ethnological Society, XXII, 1953, J. J. Augustin Publisher, Locust Valley, New York, p. 27.

[29] K. 1864; probably also occurring in the similarly titled manuscript in the Leiden collection.

[30] K. 504.

[31] Cf. Jane Belo, '*A Study of Customs pertaining to Twins in Bali*', Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXXV, 4, 1935, pp. 483-549.

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29. *ganchan*

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33. *choblong or chèblèng* 33. *choblong or chèblèng*

34. *payuk*
with 35. *kèkèb*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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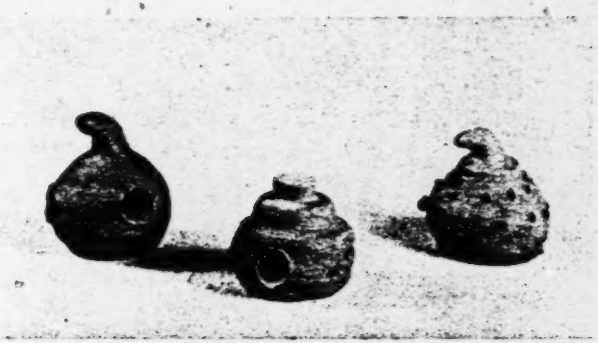

36. *pulu* 36. *pulu* 37. *kakurungan*

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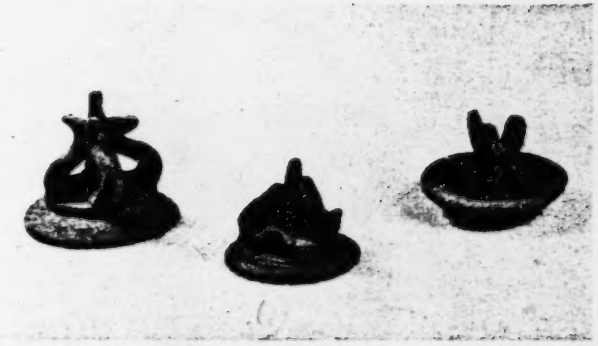

40. *lumbung or jinèng* 41. *panjènèng* 42. *kuwak or tuwak*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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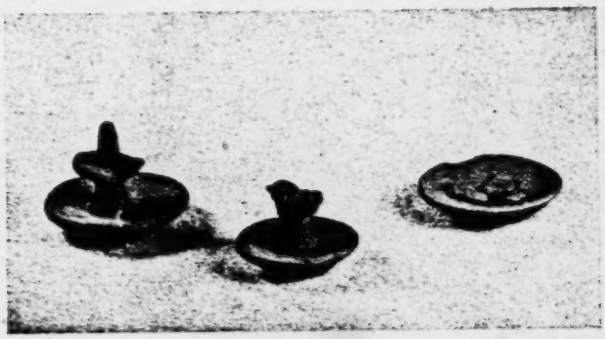
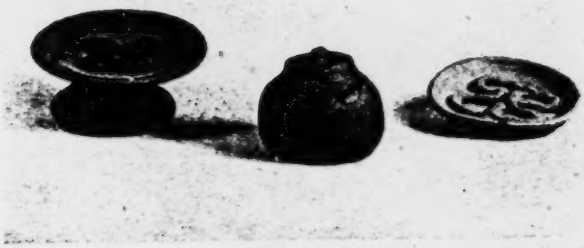


[354]

45. *kĕladi* 46. *panyémbéyan* 47. *pabrĕsihan*

[415]



48. *pabrĕsihan* 49. *chèlèngan* 50. *[illegible]angkar iga*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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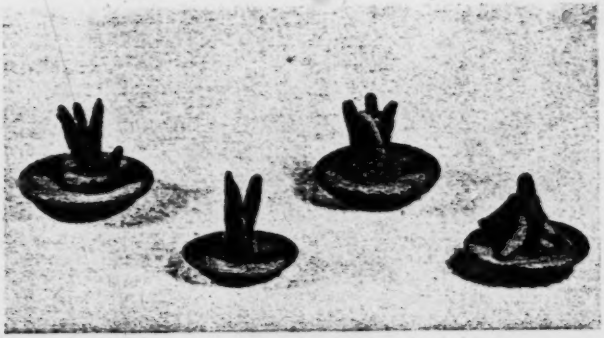

67. *rarakitan (r)akit lalima* 68. *rarakitan (r)akit tĕlu* 69. *rarakitan (r)akit patpat* 70. *ubi*

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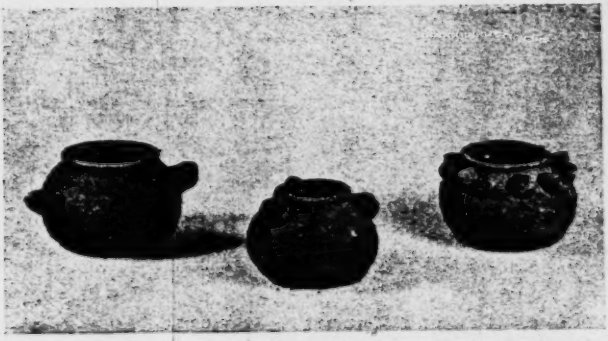

72. *kumba charatan manyonyo dadwa* 73. *kumba charatan manyonyo tĕlu* 74. *kumba charatan manyonyo solas*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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75. *kumba charatan manyonyo siya*

79. *kumba charatan manyonyo pitu*

76. *kumba charatan manyonyo akutus*

77. *kumba charatan manyonyo patpat*

78. *kumba charatan manyonyo lima*